10: Schumacher--226 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 582, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

The Chinese who thus penetrated into the mountain regions [MC: in search of camphor] may have met the earlier inhabitants of these areas as enemies, and from the initial disputes, all kinds of other difficulties could develop. It is reported, for instance, that the inhabitants of the mountains, who are naturally shy, obtain courage by catching Chinese persons and eating their livers raw. Furthermore, it is said that under penalty of death, the aborigines are forbidden to marry before they have killed seven Chinese and have proof of their deaths.

16: Müller--230 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582

Marriage between near relatives on the whole does not occur among the Formosan aborigines.

16: Miller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

18: Kakyo--69 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 595

With regard to marriage, the following general principles may be found among the Formosan aborigines apart from some insignificant variations:

a) there is a definite way of concluding marriages;
b) a marriage once concluded binds the spouses for life;
c) the woman who is the wife of one man may not at the same time marry another;
d) marriage between close relatives is not allowed;
e) there is strict monogamy.

Guérin and Bernard--560 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582

Marriages among the savages are performed at a very early age, even before girls are nubile.

21: Asai--7 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 582, 621 Bunun

"The Bunun have a clan organization. Takeshi is the word for 'family' name (i. e., clan name). The Bunun have such family names, the other tribes don't. Cannot marry within the same clan. The clan is important in ceremonials, social functions. In the Bunun, each clan has common ceremonies; members of the same clan go hunting together."

22: Wiedfeldt--8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 182, 582, 619 Atayal

As things are now, one can become well acquainted only with the tribes living on the frontier. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to observe, the members of other tribes resemble them in stature, clothing and tattooing, and are said to resemble them also in mode of life and customs. Just as all the Atayal tribes are distinguished as a unit from the other savages of Formosa because they do not have the common dormitory for the young men, or because they are not acquainted with the custom of chewing betel, etc., so they are united by similar customs. They have the same type of money, they can understand each other, although their language shows dialect variations, since it does not have the benefit of the restraining influence of a written form. Neighboring tribes of the Atayals intermarry and have occasionally undertaken joint military expeditions, two things which are unheard of between branches of different tribes. Conditions among the Schimptonoff and the Taroku may hence be taken as typical of the Atayals, especially since both tribes, in spite of their frontier location, have lost very little of their tribal peculiarities, and have lost that little very recently, apparently.

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582 Atayal

In their rigid notions of the economic prerequisites which are necessary for marriage, the Atayals go further than our modern demands for a mere age limit, and permit only those to marry whose tattooing is the outward and visible sign that they are adequate to the most important economic tasks that marriage imposes upon them. Marriage between relatives is not permitted in the direct line as well as to the fourth degree of the collateral line.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 582 Atayal

Generally the young man takes his bride, who is usually a few years older than himself, home to his clan. The bride's family thus loses a worker, and is compensated therefore by the bridegroom or his family to the extent of 25 to 30 rokoschkahas. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money].

25: Plaut--42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 582, 627

If a person has made some slanderous remark, he is forced to retract it and to ask for pardon. If he refuses to do that, he has to pay a fine to the insulted party.

If two men love the same girl and neither one is willing to give her up, there is usually no solution but for them to fight until one dies, and the other one has the bride.

25: Plaut--59 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 602, 736, 765

Blood relationship operates as follows:

1. Members of the three classes are not allowed to marry one another;
2. needy members of the three classes, that is widows and orphans, must be fed by the other members;
3. among the Tsarisen, Spayowan and Puyuma, the members of the three classes have to mourn the death of any one of their group."

25: Plaut--60 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582, 586, 589, 593

Usually young people marry at a very early age. The parents never force their children to marry but allow them to follow their own inclinations in the matter. Certain marriage formalities are observed among all the tribes. We have already stated that marriage is monogamous, that both husband and wife enjoy equal rights, and that blood relations are not permitted to marry. All witnesses agree that the husband and wife are devoted to each other, and that the wife is never regarded as a slave or beast of burden...Accordingly divorces are the exception, and adultery seldom occurs. Curiously enough, the Tsarisen consider that failure to have children is cause for divorce. Childless widows are allowed to marry again, but if a widow has a child, she cannot marry.

34: Del Re--62 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 772, 173, 582, 776 Yami

"Unnatural death, failure of crops, death of livestock are considered punishments meted out by them. (31) [MLB: i.e., the inferior gods] Like the gods of the upper

31. AYL, p. 80, n.

plane, they are endowed with the power to will the creation of anything. Their life, food and dress are, in all respects, similar to those of the Yami save that their houses are built entirely of gold, and are found in the seven heavenly villages, corresponding to the seven villages of the island, each of which is under the protection of the god of its respective heavenly village. The gods must always reside in their own village and may not take to wife a goddess from another village. This suggests that, in earlier days, intermarriage between the different communities on the island was taboo. At present, however, such a prescription appears no longer to be enforced. During the annual festivals the islanders call upon and make offerings to these gods of yams, taro, millet and other fruits of the earth to ensure a good harvest and a plentiful catch of flying-fish. There are also anitos on this plane, but they are harmless."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a nᵊnmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, and the *tfaluŋi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *taraᵊatea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tfalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tfalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*umutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoy*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *mulvutsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoy* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoy* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoy* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *yatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *matsevoy*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluyua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluyoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

582 565 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *malusiusuluqa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naya²aya putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naya²aya lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *para²are* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*para²are na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulayay* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamay* (big chief)·····*ruvaniau*
malwtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsalupi*, *tfalas* (south), *tfalas* (north)
naitsu amumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguay*, *atsinajay*, *alifulay*, *tara²atea*, *gumul*, *matsiliat*, *voto*, *tfalusayiu*.

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tfalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuay*, the big chief of Kumanao village.
tavalay a representative of the *harayiray*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsiutsipoy* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvaniau*, *tsapalai*, *tavalay*, *majoy*,